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The President's Message.

regret that our limited space precludes publishing the whole of President Roosevelt's Message to Congress. So

The President's Message.

of the aide document as are deemed
to the reader will be found in the
facts :

Government, created by the Constitution, deriving its authority from the sovereign people of each of the several States, has precisely the right to exercise its power over the several States in the enumerated cases.

to the United States but reserved

respectively or to the people, to the delegated powers. The Constitution of the United States is as much a part of the

Government, therefore, is a great

(Government, invested with all the
of sovereignty over the special subject
its authority extends. It frames
to implant in its bosom the seeds
struction nor were they at its ex-
of the absurdity of providing for
tion.
is not intended by its framers to be
fabric of a vision, which, at the to-
hanter, would vanish into thin air.

...and mighty fabric, capable of ...

Indeed, well may jealous patriots indulge fears, that a Government of high powers might violate the rights of the States, and wisely did they insist of a strict construction of those powers; but they did not forget the danger, but they did not forget any reason to imagine, that the Government could ever be so interpreted as to act, by her own act and without their consent, to invade the rights of her sister States, to discharge her

or any of their Federal obligations
y be asked, then, are the people

The right of resistance on the part of the people against the oppression of their rulers cannot be denied; it exists independent of all laws, and has been exercised

of the world's history. Under
ments have been destroyed, and w

es have been replaced. It is embossed and express language, in our own Independence, but the distinction

It may or it may not be a jihad, but still it is a revolution. In the meantime, is the responsibility

sition of the Executive? He is bo

have exercised no control? Such a moment is the case throughout the South Carolina. So far as the laws

States to secure the administrative

only acts of Congress on the statute on the subject, are those of the 2d, 1795, and the 3d of March, 1817. The President after he shall have consulted the Marshal with his power to execute civil or criminal process in any case, to call forth the militia and army and navy to aid him in performing first, by proclamation, command troops to disperse and retire peaceably to their respective abodes within a limited time, and if they cannot by any possibility be dispersed.

to where no judicial authority exists, where there is no Marshal (

d where even if there were such

e entire population would constitute

shed in civil war. If it cannot live in the affections of the people, it must one day perish. Our conquests have many means of preserving it by their consolidation, but the sword is not placed in their hands to preserve it by force. But may I not be permitted solemnly to invoke my countrymen to pause and deliberate before they determine to destroy this, the grandest temple, which has ever been dedicated to human freedom since the world began. It has been consecrated by the blood of our Fathers, by the glory of the past, and by the hopes of the future; and the Union has already made us the most prosperous, and ere long will if preserved, render us the most powerful nation on the face of the earth.

In every foreign region on the globe, the titles of American citizen, and in the highest measure of American honor, shall be the highest measure of American honor.

And American citizens are held in the highest respect, and when pronounced in foreign lands, it causes the heart of our countrymen to swell with honest pride. Surely, when we reach the brink of the yawning abyss, we shall recoil with horror from that last fatal plunge. By such a dread catastrophe, the hopes of the friends of freedom throughout the world would be destroyed, and a long night of dark desolation would enshroud the nation. Our example for more than eighty years would not only be lost, but it would be quoted as a conclusive proof that man is unfit for self-government. It is not every wrong, may it be not every grievous wrong which can justify a resort to such a fearful alternative. This ought to be the last desperate remedy of a despising people, after every other constitutional means of conciliation had been exhausted.

We should reflect that under this free government there is an incessant ebb and flow of public opinion. The slavery question like everything human, will have its day. I firmly believe that it has already reached and passed the culminating point; but if, in the midst of the existing excitement, the Union shall perile, the evil may then become irreparable. Congress can contribute much to arrest it, by proposing and recommending to the Legislature of the respective States the remedy for existing evils which the Constitution has itself provided for its own preservation. This has been tried at different critical periods of our history, and always with eminent success. It is to be found in the 5th article, providing for its own amendment.

Under this article amendments have been proposed by two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, and have been ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, and have consequently become parts of the Constitution. To this process the country is indebted for the clause prohibiting Congress from passing any law respecting an establishment of religion or a bridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of petition. To this we are also indebted for the bill of rights which secured the people against any abuse of power by the Federal Government. Such were the apprehensions justly entertained by the friends of State-rights at that period as to have rendered it extremely doubtful whether the Constitution could have long survived without those amendments.

Again the Constitution was amended by the same process, after the election of President Jefferson, by the House of Representatives, in February, 1803. This amendment was rendered necessary to prevent a recurrence of the dangers which had seriously threatened the existence of the Government during the pendency of that election. The article for its amendment was introduced to secure the amicable adjustment of the conflicting Constitutional questions like the present which might arise between the Government of the States and of the United States. This appears from contemporaneous history.

to a few instances in Mr. Madison's justly celebrated report, in 1779, to the Legislature of Virginia. In this he ably and co-operatively defeated the resolutions of the preceding Legislature against the strictures of several other State Legislatures. These were mainly founded upon the protest of the Virginia Legislature against the alien and seditious acts, as palpable and alarming infractions of the Constitution. In pointing out the peaceful and constitutional remedies—and he referred to none other—to which the States were authorized to resort on such occasions; he concludes by saying that the Legislatures of the States might have made a direct representation to Congress, with a view to obtain a rescinding of the two offensive acts, or they might have represented in their respective Senates in Congress, their wishes that two-thirds thereof would propose any explanatory amendment to the Constitution—or two-thirds of themselves, if such had been their opinion, might, by an application to Congress, have obtained a Convention for the very same object.

This is the very course which I earnestly recommend, in order to obtain an explanatory amendment of the Constitution on the subject of slavery. This might originate with Congress or the State Legislatures, as may be deemed most advisable to attain the object. The explanatory amendment might be confined to the final settlement of the true construction of the Constitution on three special points: First, an express recognition of the rights of property in slaves in the States where it now exists, or may hereafter exist. Second, the duty of protecting this right in all the common territories throughout their territorial existence, until they shall be admitted as States into the Union, with or without slavery, as their Constitutions may prescribe.

It may be objected, that this construction of the Constitution has already been settled by the Supreme Court of the United States, and what more ought to be required? The answer is, that a very large proportion of the people of the United States still controvert the correctness of this decision, and never will cease from agitation until it admit its binding force until established by the people of the several States in their sovereign character. Such an explanation would, it is believed, force or terminate the existing dissensions, and restore peace and harmony among the States. It ought not to be doubted that such an appeal to the arbitrament established by the Constitution itself, would be received with favor, by all the States or the Confederacy. In any event it ought to be tried in a spirit of conciliation, before any of these States shall separate themselves from the Union.

In addition to these and other difficulties, we experienced a revolution in monetary affairs, soon after my advent, proving of unexampled severity and of ruinous consequences to the country.—When we take a retrospect of what was then our condition, and contrast this with its material prosperity at the time of the late Presidential election, we have abundant reason to return our grateful thanks to that merciful Providence which has never forsaken us as a nation, in all of our trials.

Afterwards, in 1857, came the adoption of a new Constitution for Mexico, the union of a President and Congress under its provisions, and the inauguration of a President within one short month. However, the President was expelled from the capital by a rebellion in the army, and the supreme power of the Republic was assigned to Gen. Zalazaga. This usurper was in his turn soon compelled to retire from the place by Gen. Miramon. Under the Constitution which had then been adopted, Gen. Juarez, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, became the lawful President of the Republic, and it was for the maintenance of the Constitution, and his authority derived from it, that the civil war commenced and still continues to be prosecuted.—Through the year 1858 the Constitutional party grew stronger and stronger. In the previous history of Mexico a successful military revolution at the capital had most universally been the signal for submission throughout the Republic.

The time had arrived, in my opinion, when this Government was bound to exert its power to avenge and relieve the wrongs of our citizens, and to afford them protection in Mexico. The impending obstacle was, that the country under the sway of Miramon could not be reached without passing over territory under the jurisdiction of the Constitutional Government. Under those circumstances I deemed it my duty to recommend to Congress in my last annual message, the employment of sufficient military force to penetrate into where the government of Miramon was to be found, or, if that be, without the consent of the Constitutional Government, though it was not doubted that this consent could be obtained. Never have I had a clearer conviction on any subject than I have of the justice, as well as wisdom, of this policy. No other alternative was left, except the entire abandonment of our fellow citizens who had gone to Mexico under the faith of treaties, to the systematic injustices, cruelty and oppression of Miramon's government. Besides it is certain that a simple authority to employ this force would of itself have accomplished all our objects without risking a single blow.